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The Shape of Things

THE REAL SECURITY ISSUE RAISED BY THE attack on David E. Lilienthal concerns none of the lurid "exposures" and "admissions" featured in the headlines. It is rather the danger that if the Lilienthal smear succeeds, the atomic program may be placed under the control of military incompetents of the sort who misinterpreted intelligence reports from Germany last spring, concerning imaginary Russian plans of aggression, and, as shown by the Hoover Commission, proposed "countermeasures" which might have involved the nation in meaningless disaster. Not all incompetents are found in the Pentagon or all intelligent administrators among civilians. But the military life requires intense specialization, as General Eisenhower pointed out when he withdrew his name from political consideration, and produces leaders who are trained to envision solutions of all problems in military terms. Incompetence is shielded by the caste system and the priest-like prestige which surrounds high military personnel in troubled times. Incidents like the loss of an infinitesimal quantity of uranium become "incredible mismanagement" in the charges of Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper. Undoubtedly more serious matters went unreported under the military administration of General Leslie Groves. For instance, several enlisted men walked off with small libraries of secret data and photographs during the General's administration, but little fuss was made about it in the Senate or the press. President Truman's vigorous defense of the commission and of Mr. Lilienthal—"the atomic energy program is in good shape and in good hands"—testifies to his sound instincts.

*

ALMOST AS SHOCKING AS THE SHOOTING OF Victor Reuther is the realization that thirteen months have passed without a solution of the almost identical assault made on his brother Walter. It is true that Carl Bolton, a convicted robber now in Michigan State Prison, is under indictment for that crime, but the authorities are reported to lack corroborative evidence and to be convinced in any case that he could not have been solely responsible. There is no reason to suppose that state and city police have failed to pursue the case energetically. The president of the Detroit city council, George Edwards, is himself a former member of the United Automobile Workers and a close friend of the Reuthers, and Governor G. Mennen Williams, elected with C. I. O. support, has similar personal ties with the two victims. Nevertheless, the case has not been cracked, and until it is, the leadership of a great trade union must function under the shadow of an intolerable terror. In these circumstances it seems by no means farfetched for the FBI to be brought into the picture, whatever the technicality invoked. This action, normally resented by local authorities, has been requested by the Governor, by the Common Council of Detroit, and by Philip Murray, speaking for the C. I. O. A resolution to the same effect was unanimously adopted by the Senate of the United States. Several members of that body have indicated a belief that "the Communists are involved in this," which may explain their eagerness, but nothing seems less probable than that the Communists would endanger their whole party by a crime at once so monstrous and so dangerously stupid. It is in spite of such unsubstantiated charges, not because of them, that we would like to see federal aid in tracking down the would-be assassins.

*

ONE WITH A TASTE FOR THE INTRICACIES of politics can hardly do better than to spend the coming summer in the city of New York. Into an already complicated situation Mayor William O'Dwyer has tossed the bombshell of his impending retirement, and the result is magnificent confusion. Mr. O'Dwyer had pitted himself—whether genuinely or not is a matter of dispute—against the Tammany Hall section of his own party, which he characterized as a "political cesspool." Soon afterward his own administration became the target of a similar barrage from a self-styled "clean-government" group, headed by Clendenin Ryan. Moves were made toward re-creating the old Fusion Party, a coalition of Republican and reform elements. Corrup-

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tion under O'Dwyer has been a moot point, and the division of opinion threatened to open rifts not only within the local Democratic Party but in the Liberal Party and independent groups as well. Then came the smashing victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and a clean-up of Tammany seemed imminent. Now the kaleidoscope has shifted violently. The offending Tammany leadership has taken a new lease on life, and there is every likelihood that after a tough primary fight the various Democratic machines of the city will get together behind an uncontroversial and relatively unknown candidate. Where will this leave the Liberals and the independents? If they go along with the Democrats—and there are strong Democratic elements among them, particularly in the A. D. A.—they may find themselves tied to an unreconstructed Tammany. If a real line is to be drawn and the election is to take on more than factional significance, the Fusion-Republican forces will have to nominate a man who can attract this particular vote. In the circumstances they can hardly do better than to choose an independent Democrat—one who, like young Roosevelt, will allow other liberal Democrats to abandon the party line on the election machine without fundamentally forsaking their party allegiance.

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WITH CONSIDERABLE MORAL COURAGE AND their usual deep respect for legal processes, the British have refused to return Gerhart Eisler to the United States. Instead, the bail-jumping Communist has been granted asylum in England as a political refugee until such time as he takes his leave for Germany and, no doubt, points east. In Bow Street Court last week, a representative of the American Embassy argued that Eisler was "extraditable" as a common criminal for perjuring himself when he gave false and incomplete answers in applying for an exit visa from this country. Magistrate Sir Laurence Dunne thought differently. Eisler had "no doubt" falsified his application—an offense for which he was convicted—but that act was "obviously not . . . akin to perjury." The farce which had preoccupied the American press thus came to an end; Eisler will not be brought back here in order to be officially kicked out. As on many previous occasions, Immigration, Justice, and State Department officials have committed a gaffe; they have given Eisler the opportunity to announce, with a swagger, that he hopes "the United States suffers several more defeats like this one." There would have been no "defeat" had there been no ardent but dubiously legal pursuit of the "fugitive Kremlin agent," as he was billed in the headlines. In adhering to the strictures of law and the traditions of political asylum, the British have admirably resisted American pressure—and demonstrated that they are not the slaves to Wall Street that Eisler's comrades have called them.

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The Lucas Fiasco

ONE of the great mysteries of Washington is why Scott Lucas ever wanted to be majority leader of the Senate. Extremely unhappy over the Democratic platform to begin with, Lucas not only was prepared for defeat last November, as many others were, but has refused to reconcile himself to victory ever since. This compulsion to be on the losing side was never more marked than in his utterly gratuitous announcement last week that only three items of the President's program were in the category of "must" legislation for the present session. Two of these—ratification of the North Atlantic Pact and extension of the reciprocal-trade program—were in the realm of bipartisan foreign policy. Of the Fair Deal itself, only repeal of the Taft-Hartley act remained as an unswerving objective.

Even assuming that Senator Lucas regards the housing and education bills as assured of passage—an assumption hardly warranted by the mere fact that they are already in the legislative grinder—he appears to have given up the fight for a public-health bill, for the Brannan farm program, for extending social security, for raising the minimum wage, for revising the tax laws, and, above all, for making even a start in enacting the President's civil-rights program.

Issued as it was immediately following a White House conference, the Senator's remarks hit the liberal contingent, in Congress and out, like a charge of buckshot. From Americans for Democratic Action, in particular, came a quick return blast to the effect that Lucas's performance suggests "more than a flag of surrender; it is a flat betrayal of the Democratic platform." Others, hinting at a growing breach between the President and his party leaders in Congress, waited expectantly for Mr. Truman to repudiate the majority leader. Fortunately for the health of American politics, the President, after a two-day delay, did exactly that. Implying strongly that he had called Lucas to account, Mr. Truman went on to tell reporters that he definitely wanted Congress kept in session as long as necessary to complete action on his legislative program.

The A. D. A. phrasing was rough, and there are Fair Dealers in Congress who think the charge excessive. Perhaps it was. But if Senator Lucas intended no betrayal, we can only conclude that this is his idea of crafty political tactics, that he wants the Democrats to be able to go to the country in 1950 and again show how the Republicans have paralyzed the people's program. As tactics, nothing could be more dismally revealing of the Lucas leadership. Ever since the disastrous change in the Senate's debating rules, the guilty Republicans have been challenging Administration forces to bring in a civil-rights bill as a test. If a relatively innocuous measure—an anti-poll-tax bill, for example—were passed, the Republicans could then justify the position they took in the filibuster fight early in the year; if it were defeated, they could blame the Southern Democrats. There was only one way to counter this hypocrisy, and that was to drive ahead on the really significant aspects of the civil-rights program. Instead, Senator Lucas has chosen to back down all along the line. The result can only be an enormous propaganda advantage for the Republicans.

If it is true, as some liberal Democrats maintain, that the Administration can in fact wrest no more from a reluctant Congress than the three measures on the new "must" list, sound strategy would seem to call for a determined fight, with the responsibility fixed where it belongs. Defeat in such circumstances would permit a genuine appeal to the country in the next campaign. By his ill-timed announcement Lucas came close to undermining that appeal in advance. The President may have averted disaster momentarily, but in the long run only a rebellion by the liberal contingent in Congress can undo the mischief. Once again the Humphreys will have to save the party from its Lucases, just as they did at the national convention of 1948. But such a rebellion will have to go beyond the mavericks if it is to mean anything. It will have to refute the cynical observation now going the rounds of the capital that the difference between the A. D. A. and the Democrats is that the A. D. A. believes in the Democratic platform

An Arbitrary Ruling

BY HIS decision upholding the ban against *The Nation* in the New York City public schools, the state Commissioner of Education has brushed aside as irrelevant the safeguards set up by the Constitution to prevent administrative abuses. Ignoring the merits of the case—whether or not the articles by Paul Blanshard justified exclusion of *The Nation* from school libraries—Commissioner Spaulding simply ruled that the Board of Education "has complete discretion" in refusing to accept a publication, without regard to its character or the fact that it had previously been on the approved list. This is a decision which will obviously have to be tested in the courts. It invites arbitrary censorshop of any magazine that happens to offend a local school board, without recourse by the public or the excluded periodical, and accepts as proper procedure the control of library material through exclusive lists—lists, that is, which by omitting certain publications prohibit school libraries from accepting them. Nowhere in the state education law is provision made for turning over such powers to local boards of education or their subsidiary bodies.

So obviously objectionable are the methods now used in the New York City schools that interested citizens'

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groups have joined in proposing consideration of new procedures. In its *amicus curiae* brief the Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban on *The Nation*, headed by Archibald MacLeish, urged that the Commissioner establish principles and standards which would force a change in present methods. Assistance in working out more democratic and efficient ways of handling the selection of reading matter for the schools was offered by Christopher LaFarge in behalf of the Authors' League of America. Had the Commissioner taken advantage of these suggestions, he might have brought the methods used in New York City at least up to the level set in other school districts operating under the same state laws.

A survey made last winter by *The Nation* and the Ad Hoc Committee revealed that not one of the eighteen school districts which replied to a questionnaire uses exclusive lists in the choice of books and periodicals for the libraries. Nor is the responsibility for choosing such materials necessarily vested in the Board of Education. In some cases the school board has the authority; in some it is exercised by the superintendent or principal, in some by the school librarian. Flexibility rather than rigid, centralized control seems to be the general rule.

By the time this issue is in the hands of our readers the Board of Education will have passed upon the recent action of the Board of Superintendents excluding *The Nation* for a second year on the basis of the Blanshard articles published a year ago. The decision of the board will indicate how it proposes to exercise the enormous powers confirmed by the Commissioner's ruling. But whatever its verdict may be, the dictum handed down from Albany will remain as a threat to decent, democratic procedures until it is overruled by the courts.

Russia Means "Business"

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, May 26

THE past sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers have been such a washout that everybody naturally approaches the present meeting in the extravagant Rose Palace in Paris with the utmost caution. This is being done even to excess, and already on Tuesday there were prophets on the British-American side who were saying that it would all break down by Saturday. But surely the analogy with previous meetings of the Foreign Ministers is erroneous, for immense changes have taken place since the last was held—the consolidation of Trizonia, the Russian fiasco in Berlin, and the possible shifting of the center of gravity in Russian foreign policy to China. It was not an accident that at the very first meeting of this Council of Foreign Ministers Vishinsky proposed a discussion of the Japanese peace treaty, to which Secretary Acheson responded with an inconclusive no. That the Russians would like to see the last of MacArthur is obvious, and they cannot do a greater service to the New China than by securing the termination of present conditions in Japan. But it is in the lap of the gods whether Japan will be considered.

For the present it is almost impossible to foresee how the discussion on Germany will continue. Vishinsky alone so far has made any concrete proposals, and the Russians are expressing the greatest disappointment at the "unreasonableness" of the initial Western response. One Russian commentator remarked in an unguarded moment, "If in the past we inclined to be demagogic toward Germany, we now are extremely reasonable and the Western powers are being demagogic, flattering and cajoling the Germans. What could be more paradoxical or sillier than Schuman, of all people, coming out yesterday as the champion of German political unity?" This remark by Schuman baffled one French paper so much that it inserted in brackets "federal" before "German political unity."

Commenting on Western boasts of the wonderful economic progress made in western Germany, the Tass agency, which had been extremely polite in the first few days, came out today with a crack at Acheson, recalling that General Robertson is alleged to have said recently, "Anyone saying economic conditions in western Germany are fine is an ass." Still, the fact remains that the Russians, despite some recriminations about alleged violations of the Potsdam agreement, have for the present accepted western Germany as a *fait accompli*.

What has struck many observers as most curious is that the Russians are so far making much less effort to put themselves in the right vis-à-vis the Germans than vis-à-vis the Western Allies; they are seeking a *modus vivendi* with the West by proposing limited organisms which would create a degree of coordination between eastern and western Germany. Until today they have been taken aback by the lack of interest shown by the Western powers in the details of Vishinsky's proposal for a restoration of four-power control. "They do not want even to know exactly what we have in mind," one Russian observer remarked petulantly. And as Vishinsky himself declared, "How can you have any sort of political unity if one part of Germany is run by three and the other part run by one?" Another Russian comment: "Instead of taking our proposals seriously, Acheson merely says in effect, 'Give this up, Give that up, Get the hell out of Germany.' "

A feature which everybody has noticed is that the Russians are no longer stressing *political* unity. It is the Western powers that are now talking in terms of "let the Germans work out their own political salvation." It seems that the Russians are generally disappointed in the German attitude toward them and are thinking more of a revival of the German military menace and

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would, indeed, welcome a prolongation of inter-Allied occupation. They are encouraged in this by the fact that there has been considerable change in responsible American personnel and by the elimination of Clay, Forrestal, Royall, and other "warmongers." At present they are disappointed to find Acheson behaving like Marshall rather than like Jessup. They hope that after his first anti-Soviet blast Acheson will "make some constructive answer" to Vishinsky's proposals. As one Russian delegate remarked, "I can't believe they do not want any agreement. They must know the time is near when the vaunted western economic recovery can only be maintained with markets in the east. The West Germans won't be able to sell their stuff to England, France, and America. They must turn east for markets. Bevin and Cripps both understand this."

Tonight's discussion, while inconclusive and largely taken up with more recrimination, was more promising in the sense that the Western powers showed an interest in Vishinsky's proposals and asked him to amplify them. The Russian idea, therefore, that they are being cold-shouldered, is premature, and the truth of the matter is that the Western powers had apparently totally misread Russian intentions at this conference, and their experts and deputies have been working on the wrong premises —anticipating that the Russians would propose the evacuation of Germany, et cetera. Perhaps the outstanding event of the conference so far is the Russian *volte-face* on this matter.

May 30

The conference might be said to be going according to schedule. The Western powers have stated their position, and Vishinsky has naturally rejected the proposal to apply the Bonn constitution to all Germany. Obviously, the Russians are not interested at present in a general agreement based on German unity. The question being asked in Paris tonight is whether the Western powers are willing to discuss a small settlement instead of a general settlement. There are possibilities of establishing some kind of economic committee with four-power control, in which the question of unanimity or majority vote might, according to some observers here, yield to a compromise solution. Pessimists say that Vishinsky never intended the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to come to anything, and only used it as a face-saver for the termination of the Berlin blockade; but this is most doubtful. The Russians clearly are anxious for a *modus vivendi*. The lip-service Vishinsky paid tonight to German political unity was intended for German Communist propaganda; it does not alter Russia's fundamental decision for the present not to put its money on Germany.

Paris Portraits by Oscar Berger

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Del Vayo—Greece and the Big Four

THREE times between April 26 and May 14, during the recent meeting of the U.N. Assembly, Andrei A. Gromyko, Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia, Dean Rusk, American Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, and Hector McNeil, head of the British delegation, held conversations on the Greek question. When this was disclosed in a Tass dispatch of May 20, it was hailed in the world press as a sign that the Kremlin wanted not only to reach an agreement with the West on Germany but to settle other outstanding European problems.

Immediately various Athens politicians who would like to see the present conflict drag on like another Thirty Years' War denounced the Soviet peace proposal as a fraud; only through continued war can the corrupt semi-fascist clique which governs Greece today maintain itself in power. The governments of the United States and Great Britain took the position, in notes published on May 20, that the matter should be handled by the United Nations. There is irony and more than a grain of hypocrisy in this argument. As *The Nation* pointed out when the Truman Doctrine was announced, the United States completely by-passed the United Nations to pursue an aggressively unilateral policy. Today when the failure of that policy is evident in the chaos and slaughter that continues in Greece, Russia's proposal of peace talks is frowned upon in Washington as a move that ignores the peace-making functions of the United Nations. If Bevin in Paris can overcome Acheson's ill-founded objections, we shall have reason to be glad.

At my request a leading Greek democrat, former Foreign Minister Sofianopoulos, has cabled me his view of the present situation. He says:

> When, last fall, I proposed to Evatt mediation for Greece, I was sure that with his experience and authority he would find a basis for an international solution of a problem arising principally from the rivalry of the great powers. I am glad I wasn't wrong.
>
> The Soviet communiqué, while insisting on the cessation of aid to Athens by the West and the withdrawal of foreign troops, specified a willingness to agree on control of the northern frontiers of Greece and the supervision of elections in Greece in accordance with the present constitution. The Foreign Office and State Department stick to their view that Russia, with its satellites, must stop helping the rebels, and say that otherwise they will continue aid to Athens. But they are ready to consider together the pacification of Greece and the return to normal of its relations with the Balkans.
>
> Argument over who shall first stop helping his particular protégé is futile. In Berlin the blockade and counter-blockade were raised simultaneously; the same thing can be done in Greece. If the Athens government cannot be excluded, for reasons of diplomacy, its opponents should also be heard. If the Western powers do not wish to hear the rebels—refusing to recognize a reality—they must certainly hear those political forces in Greece which, without being rebels, are nevertheless not represented in the Athens Parliament owing to their abstention from the elections. These political forces include the left-center parties and the non-Communist, democratic left. Without their participation no representative government is conceivable.
>
> The great powers should agree on a common policy toward Greece which would reasonably include a solemn joint undertaking with respect to its independence and territorial integrity. Parliament should be dissolved and an interim government set up to help a trustee of the great powers, or the United Nations, arrange for disarmament and prepare the ground for free elections to take place within a reasonable time.
>
> One wishes that the Greek problem could be placed on the agenda of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris. But in any case the Big Four should show the moral sense to spare Greece further bloodshed. The United Nations could thereafter indorse its decisions.

In this general view even the Greek Communists concur. I have before me the text of an unpublished interview held as recently as April 19, in Prague, with Miltiades Porphyrogenis, Minister of Justice in the "Provisional Democratic Government of Greece" and chairman of the Control Committee of the Greek Communist Party. Mr. Porphyrogenis said:

> The United States has missed its chance. At one time the Greek people would have worked with the West. We would have recognized that we are not only a Balkan country which must be friendly with other Balkan countries and with Soviet Russia but also a Mediterranean country which must be friendly with Britain and America.

Mr. Porphyrogenis's replies to practical questions about ending the war are extremely interesting in the light of Gromyko's proposal:

> *Q.* How could the civil war be settled? *A.* The Greek Communist Party would abide by any decision made by the Greek people in a free election.
>
> *Q.* Would the Greek Communist Party accept supervision of such an election by the United Nations? *A.* (with a shrug). Why not? In 1946 we offered to become a neutral area under U. N. supervision, but this offer was rejected by the West.
>
> *Q.* Would you accept the results of a free, U. N.-supervised election? *A.* Yes. The people know us and have learned about the monarcho-fascists in this war; we will trust them. . . .
>
> *Q.* Is it true that you have obtained American equipment? *A.* Yes. We are sold some American material by the corrupt Athens officials, and we capture some. We have guns and ammunition but no airplanes or tanks.

A solution for the problem of Greece—a solution which will also prevent Macedonia from becoming once more the infernal caldron in which a general Balkan conflict is brewed—will not only promote peace but serve the interests of American taxpayers, who have seen their money swallowed up in the maw of Greek corruption. Athens, it is true, has just announced that the Greek army has stepped up offensive operations against the guerrillas on all fronts and that this time no rebel will be left to tell the story. We heard the same thing when the June offensive began last year, but six months later the rebels were stronger than they had ever been. In short, Greece is not a military but a political problem—as Mr. Acheson should have learned long ago.

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The Germans Wait for Bids

BY CAROLUS

Frankfurt, May 23

IT HAPPENED four years almost to the day after the gruesome end of Hitler and Goebbels—the thing for which they prayed in vain up to the last minute in their flame-licked subterranean Valhalla. Berlin, besieged by the Russians, has been liberated by the Anglo-Americans, using their air lift.

Grateful Berliners have renamed one of their thoroughfares General Lucius Clay Street. Should Berlin's famous Siegesallee ever be restored, no marble statue of Field Marshal Keitel is likely to grace it, nor even one of Eisenhower. But the American Military Governor, now gone home in triumph, may well be represented, together with his Russian opposite number.

The one thing that worries the Germans is the possibility that West and East, meeting at Paris, may come to an agreement at their expense. Germany has been the only victor in the cold war and it hopes for more success. So the Germans are now telling the West: "Liberty and an end to the occupation—that's all very well; but liberty without German unity—no thank you!" Turning to the East, they use this formula: "Liberty and the withdrawal of Russian troops—all splendid; but unity without liberty —no thank you, not for us!"

Adolf Hitler's Thousand-Year Reich lasted just twelve years. The occupation, which former Secretary of State Byrnes publicly declared might have to be prolonged for two or three generations, is likely to last no longer than those solemn Potsdam declarations of 1945, according to which Germany was never again to become a power in Europe. It is Germany that has won in Berlin. Moscow, willing to starve two-and-a-half million people to show the Germans who held the upper hand; the Western powers, demonstrating their invincibility through their superior resources and techniques—both have cut off their nose to spite their face.

The cold war has had a demoralizing influence on the occupation troops on both sides. All the newspapers are carrying a picture captioned "Goliath." The accompanying text reads: "Edward Touhey, nineteen-year-old American soldier, who recently knocked out seven Russian officers in a Vienna hotel lobby before being overpowered by twelve M. P.'s and a medical officer. Touhey, six feet three inches tall and weighing two hundred pounds, was discharged on the morning of the incident from a hospital where he had been under psychiatric observation."

A kind of war psychosis has been developed in these young Allied soldiers. Talking with them, one gains the impression that dropping an atom bomb on the Kremlin amounts to little more than taking an aspirin tablet for a headache. Listening, on the other hand, to the propaganda dealt out by the Communists in western Germany, one cannot doubt that a thousand devils, aided and abetted by their two thousand grandmothers, spend all their days and nights in Wall Street and Downing Street planning a new bloodbath for the world. Gratitude and honor are owed the fifty-odd young pilots and crew members who gave their lives in the air lift. But gratitude and honor are also owed those uncounted nameless fliers on both sides who withstood the propaganda and the psychological strain, who did not run amuck in the air as did Private Edward Touhey on the ground. During the year of the air lift the question of war or peace may well have lain in the hands of some young pilot from Tashkent or Texas making a run over Berlin.

As for the psychological and political effects of the cold war on the Germans, if Hitler and Goebbels could be aware of them, they would stir happily in their graves. In the past six months repeated warnings and complaints have been made public in the reports of General Clay, of his British and French counterparts, Generals Robertson and Koenig, and of many other high military-government officials. Attention has been called to the new wave of German nationalism, the German lack of understanding for democracy, the flooding of the civil services with former Nazis—the very political and social conditions that I have discussed in previous articles. For the most part these conditions spring from the cold war between East and West, from the efforts to win the Germans over as allies. German renazification, the degradation of German justice, the checks to democratic progress are items on the same side of the ledger. In the eastern zone there are paramilitary police formations, partly organized in Russia and indoctrinated with an anti-Western outlook. In the western zones aviation magazines have begun to reappear, and German Cabinet members are demanding that the police be again put on a full-time garrison footing.

The press in western Germany has been renazified. The old nationalist note is again sounded clear and strong. For every anti-Russian article there is one containing covert criticism of the Americans, the British, the French. The same thing is true of the political parties and their spokesmen. That the Germans have exacted payment for their services during the year of the air lift, that they have successfully blackmailed the "victors" of 1945, was revealed very significantly in the speech delivered in the Swiss city of Berne by Dr. Adenauer, leader of the Christian Democratic Union, pet party of the West. "The German people did not surrender uncondi-

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tionally," Dr. Adenauer said, "but only the German army."

I will cite a few other incidents that illustrate the situation. In Munich the Military Government granted a license to a "German Youth" association whose resemblance to the Hitler Youth leaps to the eye. A round-robin letter circulated by this group was addressed "to all former German officers and soldiers" and mentioned the "possible utilization of German soldiers" by the Western powers. In Stuttgart a Lieutenant General Hans von Donat solicited funds for the defense of certain German generals facing a British military tribunal. So far 2,500,000 marks (about $830,000 at the official rate of exchange) has been collected.

Last April a certain Baron von Richthofen, an "Eastern expert" and high functionary in Hitler's military administration during the German occupation of Russia, addressed Ukrainian D. P.'s and refugees, many of whom fought with the Germans during the war. "In his speech," reported the thoroughly bourgeois *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on April 14, 1949, "the speaker called for a fight for freedom against the East, dramatically invoking the old German warrior tradition and the flag that must be borne aloft by sons and grandsons until the day of deliverance. 'Day of deliverance' evidently referred to war against the Soviet Union. 'May God will it!' Herr Richthofen exclaimed."

The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* added: "Little weight would need to be given to this grotesque incident were it not for the fear that under cover of American anti-Communist policy it might easily develop into a *system*. Ultimately it is quite likely that former Nazi generals, on the basis of their experience in the east, will address and instruct us on our proper behavior in the coming war against Soviet Russia; and western military governments . . . are unlikely to stay their hands."

The picture is rounded out when one learns that the German postal service in the western zones has just reemployed 15,000 Nazis who had been previously discharged, and has promoted some of them to higher positions than they held before. In conclusion, to serve the cause of justice, I will quote from the speech delivered in Berlin by Walter Ulbricht, vice-chairman of the Communist-Socialist Unity Party in the eastern zone. "Regardless of the political past of a German," he declared at an election rally, "whether Nazi or not, whoever rakes up that past against someone fighting for German unity acts against the interests of the national unity front."

Pork Barrels in the Pentagon

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

Washington, May 20

LINCOLN STEFFENS was fond of emphasizing corporate wealth as the source of political corruption, and too many American liberals have been encouraged by his oversimplified formula to ignore the whole field of bureaucratic waste in government and to leave the sins of political extravagance to the Harry Byrds and their followers. That is one reason why, as we move toward the deadline of July 1, when Congress must accept or reject the largest peace-time military budget in history, the Washington forces left of center are not leading the opposition. The liberals have defended government spending against "the interests" so loudly and so long that they have almost forgotten the language of thrift. This is especially unfortunate, because we have now reached a point in economic decline when the ruthless elimination of military waste may be a condition for the adoption of a liberal welfare program.

Most liberals do not realize how grotesquely swollen our military expenditures have become and how effectively the forces of reaction are using the oversize military budget to "squeeze" welfare expansion. The figure of $15 billion is the one commonly used to describe the military budget for the coming year, but this amount—actually over $15,900,000,000—is only the beginning of the military story. It does not include the five and one-half billion for ECA this year; or the billion for the costs of military occupation and relief in occupied territories; or the billion and one-half for military aid to Atlantic Pact countries, including Greece and Turkey; or the $792,000,000 for atomic energy; or the $525,000,000 for the stockpiling of strategic materials. The absolute minimum of current, real military expenditures in this year's $42 billion total is $23 billion; and if we included certain borderline items and the interest on our primarily military national debt of $252 billion, we should find that more than 80 cents of every federal dollar goes for "defense," past, present, and future. If we stick to the current expenditure of $23 billion, we find that it means a burden on the average four-member American family of more than $600 a year.

At a time when there is admittedly no immediate prospect of war, we are spending thirty-eight times as

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PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," was head of the Department of Investigations and Accounts of New York City under Mayor LaGuardia. In Billions for Brass, which appeared in The Nation *two weeks ago, he analyzed the staggering waste in our military establishment.*

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much for current "defense" as we did in the fourth year after World War I. If we could cut our current military expenses by one-half, the savings in one year would pay for the annual cost of the national health-insurance plan proposed by the President, the entire cost of federal aid to education provided in the Thomas bill, the annual appropriations in the national housing bill, and still leave about $5 billion for the erection of needed schoolhouses.

IS THE proposed current military budget of $23 billion necessary? The honest answer is that nobody knows. The present system of getting and spending for military purposes is so confused and complex, so weighted down with interservice rivalry and hysterical propaganda, that the average taxpayer finds it impossible to decide whether any given expenditure is an actual necessity or a horrible example of brass-hat vanity and extravagance.

One thing is absolutely clear. As in Lincoln Steffens's day, it is the system and not the individual which is to blame for the extravagance and waste—not the capitalist system in this case but the brass-hat system of military appropriations. The taxpayer is caught with the admirals and the generals in a bureaucratic *scheme* of waste which is so laden with the barnacles of respectability and tradition that only an explosive force can shake it.

The pattern of extravagance and waste begins with the complex, behind-the-scenes maneuvers within the services, and it runs all the way through to the President's desk, where the appropriation bills are finally signed. From the taxpayer's point of view there are six outstanding weaknesses in the pattern. First, the whole process is based upon the naive assumption that there is a definite thing called absolute preparedness and that the nation can attain this condition by following the advice of military men; whereas it is quite apparent to any thoughtful student that preparedness is purely relative and that there is no such thing as absolute security in an atomic age. Second, there is a complete absence of taxpayers' representatives on the ground floor of military planning, and by the time the departmental requests have reached a higher echelon, the plans have become so involved with personal pride and departmental prestige that a searching reexamination is very difficult. Third, the interservice battle for departmental portions of the over-all military total is like a silver-cup contest between the Dekes and the Phi Psis. Fourth, the arbitrary cuts imposed by the President and the Budget Director—usually good cuts imposed in a conscientious manner—are so surrounded with secrecy that the public never gets the basic reasoning behind the cuts. If it did, more and better cuts might be demanded. Fifth, the examinations of the military estimates by the appropriations committees of Congress are superficial and inexpert. Sixth, the debate on the floor of Congress is fragmentary and inadequate, and the important strategic and economic issues are usually avoided because of the fear of legislators that they will be branded as unpatriotic if they question "national defense."

All these weaknesses were apparent in the story of this year's super-budget. The faces of the military men should have been very red when it was disclosed that they had originally demanded $30 billion instead of $15 billion, but their attempted colossal grab was passed over blandly by the authorities as "very much of an estimate and not a precise calculation." No one suggested that generals and admirals who made an overcalculation of $15 billion should be submitted to some kind of economic loyalty test, although it was apparent that the $30 billion program was primarily a program for prestige-spending devised by men who had lost all sense of responsibility to the taxpayers.

WHEN the Budget Director and the President finally slashed the swollen estimates to a $15 billion (still swollen) minimum, the charts and estimates went for examination to the small House subcommittee on military appropriations. This committee of five busy Congressmen is made up not of military experts but of military enthusiasts. It had one statistician and one minority clerk to comb the details of the largest peace-time military budget in history. These two staff members had no professional investigators to help them. On every question that was raised the committee's two helpers were confronted with a competing staff of experts in uniform who were working for their own services. Behind these experts were hundreds of publicity men in uniform, paid by the taxpayers to defend the brass hats against the taxpayers. In 1948 the army and air force alone had 810 full-time and 431 part-time publicity men, but this year the House did not even bother to ask how many of these publicity men were still hanging around. In any case the request would have been fruitless without a supplementary check-up to determine how much hidden publicity is being paid for as management and clerical services.

The record of committee hearings presents a rather sorry picture of lost opportunities. Searching questions were rare and unsatisfactory answers common. The debate on the floor of the House was even more disappointing. The $15 billion appropriation was explained by a subcommittee chairman to an almost empty House. There were a few pointed questions and a few good speeches, but who listened or read? The final vote of approval of 271 to 1 in the House represented not so much an informed opinion as a state of panic about Soviet policy and the fear of every member that a vote for economy might be construed as a vote for "disloyalty."

The assumption in all committee hearings and on the floor of the House was that "strategic" questions should be avoided or discussed off the record. When one Congressman asked on the floor why, when "we have de-

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veloped a force which is so destructive that it minimizes all previous destructive forces which we have been able to apply in a military way, we do not find ourselves in a position, apparently, to take advantage of those advancements by reducing the over-all military budget," he was met with the reply from the subcommittee chairman: "We may be wrong, but we would rather be wrong on the side of liberality than on the side of niggardliness. . . . I think it would not be appropriate for me to comment on the floor of the House in regard to what we know about atomic energy."

Senator Brien McMahon, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, declared on May 12 that even the members of his committee have never been told the size of the country's atomic-bomb stockpile.

But "what we know about atomic energy" is the most fundamental question for all taxpayers to understand. It raises the possibility of fighting a new and cheaper kind of war in which all thought of land-occupation and sea-surface warfare is abandoned, and all energies are concentrated on the destruction of vital enemy targets by our 25,000 service airplanes. In all the debates and hearings on the military budget no one has publicly asked the elementary question: What would happen to the military establishment if we frankly adopted the theory of quick, all-out destruction by guided missiles and atomic bombs, gave the air force its present appropriation of $6 billion unimpaired, and cut $6 billion from the army and navy appropriations on the assumption that there is no sense in talking about a land invasion or a sea invasion of Russia? Yet this is the "line" that air-force personnel swear by in private conversations when they are not compelled to be polite to the army and navy brass.

The fight for candid discussion of major policies has not been aided by Secretary Johnson's Consolidation Directive No. 1, censoring and controlling the public statements of all members of the armed forces and of all retired officers as well, even when the statements are concerned only with economic-military policy. Mr. Johnson's motives in issuing the order were doubtless noble, and he had been properly incensed by the undercover sniping and the public squabbling of the services. But his new order has unwittingly cut off the taxpayers' best source of inside knowledge, the occasional internecine cussing of an officer who decides to risk his career by telling the truth about some outrageous extravagance.

ALMOST everybody is agreed on two partial remedies for the present sorry conditions of military waste—more centralized control inside the military establishment and more civilian influence on spending policies. But how attain these ends? More centralization of control in the wrong hands could make matters worse by creating a new empire in the Pentagon. Civilian influence on spending policies would be worse than useless if the civilians involved were subject to military pressure. The recommendations of the Hoover Commission for a "performance budget" instead of a carry-all budget seem to be excellent, but do they go far enough? Robert P. Patterson pointed out, in dissenting from the Hoover Commission's task-force report on security, that a single Department of Defense is needed, since "there still persists in the departments a feeling of separation and self-aggrandizement that is hostile to teamwork, to efficiency, and to economy." Perhaps the present Congress will accept Mr. Patterson's point, but that recognition will not in itself destroy the traditions of waste and restore economic morale.

The situation seems to demand an aggressive *exposure* agency, operated by civilians, manned by trained investigators, and dedicated to one object, the persistent exposure of military waste. The brass hats do not fear civilian pressure against military extravagance when it is private pressure within the governmental structure, since inertia and tradition can be counted on to overcome internal criticism. But everybody in Washington fears public exposure. Reputation is still the most precious thing in public life. Why should not a general or an admiral who wastes $10 million be subject to the kind of public criticism, let us say, that greets a civilian politician who wastes $1 million? That gives the brass hats a 90 per cent preferential edge for patriotic virtue.

An immediate Congressional investigation designed to force into public view all the facts about military waste underlying the Hoover reports would be distinctly worth while, but even more effective would be the creation of a permanent civilian investigating agency armed with powers similar to the powers of the Commissioner of Investigations of New York City.

The National Planning Association suggested something along this line four months ago, but the suggestion received very little attention. It said:

> We of the National Planning Association propose that a highly qualified civilian body be established as a regular agency of government for specific investigation of defense expenditures for as long as the latter remain of their present magnitude. It should be composed of full-time members at salaries that will attract the highest talent and should include, so far as possible, representatives of the major functional and economic groups. It should be authorized to conduct investigations of any and all aspects of defense administration at its own discretion and to report its findings to the President and, subject only to minimal security considerations, to the Congress and to the public.

I think that this suggestion should be revived and reconsidered. Perhaps it is too late to trim our swollen 1950 budget, but there is still 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954—even unto the end of the world.

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And Now Jimmy Roosevelt

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, May 27

IF THE reluctance of leading contenders to oppose him is a test of his political strength, then James Roosevelt is destined to be the Democratic nominee for governor of California in 1950. Interviewing Democratic leaders, north and south, I have found many candidates for governor but only one who seems willing to contest the nomination with Mr. Roosevelt. On more than one occasion since he took up residence in California Jimmy Roosevelt has been pronounced politically dead and ready for interment, but unless the current omens are completely awry, he is headed for a smashing triumph in 1950.

Logically Governor Warren should run for the Senate in 1950. He has been governor for two terms; he needs to become better known in the East; and Sacramento, as he has discovered this year, is a cruel ordeal. But Warren's residence is in Alameda County, the home of Senator William Knowland, who is Warren's protégé, just as Warren is the protégé of the Senator's father, Joe Knowland. It would be a bit too palpable to give Joe Knowland *two* United States Senators. Furthermore, Warren is deeply involved in an intra-Republican fight with Attorney General Fred N. Howser* and is morally committed to see it through. Although the Governor still has great strength, he has fallen on bad political times. All sorts of interests are out to get him, for a variety of reasons both good and bad, and the spokesmen for these interests are agreed that Roosevelt is the man who can beat him. Even the A. F. of L., long friendly to Warren, is beginning to look with favor on Roosevelt. Warren simply cannot win in 1950 unless he captures a large share of the Democratic votes, but his defeat as the Republican vice-presidential nominee in 1948 has destroyed the twin myths of his non-partisanship and his invincibility.

James Roosevelt, of course, is still persona non grata at the White House. Mr. Truman has not forgotten, and will not forget, that Roosevelt organized an open revolt against him in 1948. But far from having weakened Roosevelt, this ill-starred attempt has placed him in a powerful position. Today it is everywhere cited as proof of his independence and liberalism. In fact, the major concern of the organizational Democrats at the moment is how they can possibly stop him. Some have already gone over to him; others are in process of lining up; and only the Malone Democrats of San Francisco seem to be hold-outs. Although Colonel Roosevelt has not yet announced his candidacy, an efficient and well-financed organization to promote it has already been set up.

The fight for the Democratic nomination will probably be a three-cornered contest between Roosevelt, Warren, and E. George Luckey, vice-chairman of the party. Luckey, an ex-Texan, first settled in the Imperial Valley, where he made a fortune as a cattle-feeder. In 1938 Helen Gahagan Douglas and some of her friends organized a Christmas party for migrant children in the Farm Security Administration camp at Brawley. The Associated Farmers of the Imperial Valley, fearing that Santa Claus was N. Lenin in disguise, strenuously opposed the project. But George Luckey, out of a great devotion to Franklin D. Roosevelt, managed to calm the other ex-Texans of the valley, and the Brawley affair was staged without further trouble. Luckey's mediation suggested to the Imperial Valley Democrats that he might make a good candidate for the state senate. In his four-year term in Sacramento Luckey was "one of the boys," an affable, indifferent kind of Senator whose record was no worse and not much better than that of his cow-county confrères. At this time he did not affect the boots-and-stetson garb that marks his resplendent emergence as a top political figure; but even then he wore the huge diamond ring that dazzles all visitors to Democratic Party headquarters in Los Angeles.

In 1948 the Democrats were faced with the necessity of selecting a state vice-chairman, and by tradition he had to come from Southern California, where there was a sharp division between Roosevelt Democrats and regular Democrats, that is, Truman Democrats. No one wanted the position, for no one thought Truman could carry the state; Congressman Chet Holifield, Judge Isaac Pacht, and other liberal Democrats declined to run. The Roosevelt caucus, however, finally came up with someone. The regulars, determined to beat Roosevelt, hit upon E. George Luckey as their candidate. He had not been involved in the left-right feuding; he had money, lots of it; and he had recently established residence in Los Angeles. After a night of hectic caucusing in Sacramento Luckey was elected by thirteen votes.

The new vice-chairman's primary duty, of course, was to organize the Truman campaign in Southern California; in practical terms this meant that it was his high privilege to pay the bills. Actually there was no Truman

* See Machines, Political and Slot, in *The Nation* of May 28.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, writes frequently on California politics from the point of view of a liberal Democrat.

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campaign in California; not more than $35,000 was spent in the entire state. There were no billboards, no radio speeches, little precinct work. To get this purely nominal campaign under way Luckey advanced $7,500 and paid certain minor expenses out of his own funds. After the election the Democrats staged a great victory dinner in Los Angeles with Mr. Barkley as the main speaker and raised a large fund, out of which Luckey was repaid the sums he had advanced. He now found himself the hero of a campaign that no one had thought could be won and that had cost him practically nothing.

When he went to Washington for the inaugural ball —his second visit to that city—a skilful press agent planted stories there about the extraordinary largess of this ex-Texan who had salvaged the victory for the Democrats in the dark hours of the California campaign. With everyone in Washington still speechless with surprise, particularly over the California returns, the Luckey myth won wide acceptance. Through the clever work of his press agent Luckey rode in the inaugural parade, although he was so unknown that *Life* identified him as "a Los Angeles cowboy." Drew Pearson and other commentators, impressed by the stories about this "colorful" California cow poke, wrote of the fantastic sums which Luckey had raised or contributed. It was not, of course, incumbent upon Mr. Luckey to refute these reports, and the more widely they circulated the larger the sums became. Even the California Democrats began to take the stories seriously. A new "character," an unknown Croesus, had suddenly appeared; who was there to deny his fabulous generosity? In consequence Mr. Luckey was given control of the patronage for the 1950 census and other political plums.

Back in California, E. George Luckey let it be known that he was a candidate for governor. To show that he was utterly serious he began to take "elocution" lessons. During the campaign his speaking had been a source of great embarrassment to the Democrats. At the victory dinner he had introduced Senator Oliver Carter, state chairman of the Democratic Party, as "a lawyer from up north" and had presented Jack Shelley, a former state senator and Democratic nominee for lieutenant governor, as "a labor leader." The regulars, who make a fetish of something they call "programming," were horrified to find that the man they had placed on the pedestal of fame suddenly refused to program.

Luckey, however, is the one Democrat who seems willing to challenge James Roosevelt. A fund of $22,000 now being raised will be spent at the rate of $2,000 a month to make the California voters "Luckey conscious"; a picture-spread in *Life* has appeared; and other wondrous things are brewing. An advertising executive long known as one of Ed Pauley's lieutenants is currently playing an active role in the Luckey promotion. However, the Roosevelt luck, too, is proverbial. In a race between Luckey and Roosevelt, with Governor Warren cross-filed, Luckey would draw conservative Democratic votes that would otherwise go to Warren. Furthermore, some of the regulars, alarmed by Luckey's failure to "program," have already entered the Roosevelt camp. It is interesting that the Republican leaders view Roosevelt as the man to stop. Their hatchet men are already gathering material on his background in the insurance business and similar matters, but they freely confess that the impending "smear campaign" is as likely as not to backfire.

James Roosevelt

There is much speculation on the Senatorial situation. It has been assumed that Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas would contest the Democratic nomination with Senator Sheridan Downey. But persons active in Roosevelt's behalf are cool to this suggestion. Mrs. Douglas, they say, would not add to the Roosevelt strength, whereas Downey, with his curious array of guerrilla forces, would make an ideal running-mate. Downey is strong in the north; Roosevelt in the south. The Malone forces will support Downey and might therefore "take" Roosevelt. The problem, of course, is to reconcile the views of the two men on such highly controversial issues as the 160-acre-limitation provision in the bill authorizing the Central Valley Project (Roosevelt favors, Downey opposes the limitation). But both men, I am told, are "flexible." "If their objectives are the same," one leader told me, "these issues won't matter."

Realizing that Luckey is not a strong candidate, the anti-Roosevelt forces recently sent up a trial balloon in San Francisco in the form of an announcement that a committee had been organized to promote the candidacy of Representative Franck R. Havenner. Mr. Havenner promptly stated that he was not a candidate and is said to have assured Roosevelt of his support. The Havenner statement, however, has an interesting background. Havenner recently collected $15,000 from the Hearst newspapers for a "red smear" in the 1946 campaign. A portion of this fund was used to defend one William Brandhove, who has been challenging the Tenney Committee on Un-American Activities, and the rest was turned over to the Havenner for Governor Committee. Liberal Democrats applaud Mr. Havenner's defiance of Hearst and Tenney but have not shown much interest in him as a possible candidate for governor.

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SO THEY SAID

BY TIM TAYLOR

IT'S IRONIC that the three newspaper columnists embroiled in argument as a result of the suicide of James Forrestal—Westbrook Pegler, Drew Pearson, and Walter Winchell—are all on the New York pay roll of William Randolph Hearst.

Pearson has filed a $250,000 libel action against Pegler based on two columns (New York *Journal-American*, May 23, 24) attacking his and Winchell's radio reporting of the career of the late Secretary of Defense. Winchell (*Mirror*) is not likely to sue Pegler, since both are employees of Hearst's syndicate, King Features. Pearson, whose column appears in the *Mirror* also, is under contract to Bell Syndicate, not a Hearst organization.

Of course, Pegler was not the only journalist who criticized Pearson and Winchell in connection with the death of Forrestal, but he was certainly the most vitriolic. Among other things Pegler said:

> For months Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell hounded Jim Forrestal with dirty aspersions, most of them delivered in the form of insinuations, until at last, exhausted and his nerves unstrung, one of the finest servants that the Republic ever had died by suicide.

Regarding Pearson, Pegler said:

> Forrestal was the victim of the wanton blackguardism and mendacity of the radio, which has been a professional specialty of Drew Pearson. Pearson has become a man of great power and special privilege because other decent men like Forrestal go in fear of fantastic lies to be spread over the nation by radio. . . . Pearson's motives are seldom apparent. But whether ulterior or, possibly, aboveboard, the fact is nevertheless that he has habitually "got on the wheel" of this or that defenseless personality in public life and inflicted such personal hurt as to deter men from entering public service.

Regarding Winchell, Pegler added:

> This night-club and underground chronicler of pregnancies, intimacies, and spiteful reports [is another] equally mendacious, ulterior, and malicious radio terrorist whose high, moralistic posture is fantastic. . . . The truest observation ever made about Winchell was to the effect that he enjoyed absolute freedom from the inhibitions that restrain most of us.

Pegler's restraint is well known. Harry Truman, Robert Sherwood, Felix Frankfurter, Philip Murray, and the Roosevelts—a mere handful of the past targets of Pegler's stylized prose—must find it difficult keeping straight faces when they read the columnist's views on character assassination. As Max Lerner said (*Post Home News*, May 26): "The Pegler theory that Forrestal was done to death by a couple of commentators must be seen for what it is—a convenient weapon in a fantastic personal vendetta."

THE MALIGNING and traducing of Forrestal, according to Hanson W. Baldwin (New York *Times*, May 24), was "not very different in tenor from similar outrageous attacks made upon others in our day and age."

Marquis Childs (*Post Home News*, May 24) pointed out that the chairman of the AEC, David Lilienthal, was being subjected to the same kind of attacks "from quite different elements of press and radio," adding that while it has not reached the same degree of innuendo "the motivation seems to be the same—to 'get Lilienthal!' "

Childs did not name the Lilienthal attackers, but his New York paper did so in a front-page editorial (May 24): "New York's Hearst and McCormick newspapers, valiantly echoed by the *World-Telegram* and the *Sun*, with other voices in the wings, have enlisted in the crusade against David Lilienthal."

Childs observed that Forrestal was attacked "as a symbol of big business and high finance with constant innuendo about deals in oil" and that Lilienthal is being attacked "as a symbol of the New Deal and the radicalism of the Roosevelt Administration, with repeated hints that because of his political convictions he cannot be trusted with secrets involving the nation's security." He saw in the exaggerated charges an attempt by reactionaries in Congress and industry to discredit civilian control of atomic energy. "The end result," said Childs, "may be to drive out of public office capable and conscientious men to the extent that we shall have left only timid hacks and military automatons."

WALTER LIPPMANN (*Herald-Tribune*, May 24) and Joseph Alsop (*Herald-Tribune*, May 25) added their voices to the gradually swelling chorus of protest against the waste of intelligent and disinterested men in government positions. Lippmann spoke out for the idea of "the rotation of people in public life."

> I shall always believe [he said] that if Forrestal had known before he left the Pentagon that he was really wanted somewhere else, as indeed in all justice and common sense he should have been, he would have had a reason for living, and the fatigue the doctors talk about would not have overcome his will to live.

Coming in *The Nation*

THE DAY PEACE BROKE OUT

BY STUART CHASE

Joy and ruin! Twenty-five billion dollars of war orders wiped off the books overnight. Something must be substituted—or else. Houses and schools instead of tanks are fine, but Mr. Chase has a still better idea.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

CANT, CANDOR, AND THE CLASS WAR

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

TALLEYRAND is said once to have remarked that no one who had not lived under the *ancien régime* had any idea how pleasant life could be. He meant, of course, how pleasant for those few to whom it really was pleasant; and many in England and America who echo his sentiment today are more aware than he was of this aspect of the situation. Most of us who belong to the large middle class which lives less comfortably and less spaciously than it did before the process of economic leveling was accelerated by the war accept the situation with pretty good grace. We may regret that we now wipe the dishes which someone else once wiped for us, but we are not absolutely sure that we have any right to bolster our regret with moral indignation.

There is, however, one luxury whose progressive tendency to disappear I do regard with bitterness—the luxury, I mean, of candor and detachment in thinking as well as in talking. I am resigned if not actually willing to give up some of my privileges in so far as they affect merely material things when "the world situation" demands it. But I am not willing to give up the privilege of trying to think straight or play fair just because I am assured that the struggle is too crucial and too bitter to give the enemy the advantage of our candor. The hero of a "liberal" play now current on Broadway delivers himself of the drama's moral when he declares, "Never play fair with an enemy unless you respect him," and there is the crux of the matter. I do not want to play fair for my enemy's sake but for my own, and if I am told that such an attitude is a luxury, then I can only reply that on my right to that luxury I take my stand as firmly as any Bourbon ever took one for his revenue or rank.

Fascists and Communists, being logical, naturally carry their consistent inconsistency to its ultimate limits. It is they who demand free speech and civil rights until they are in a position to deny them to others, who proclaim that "justice" means quite simply "that which is advantageous to my side," and who, while maintaining that there is no such thing as morality in politics, nevertheless use most freely such morally loaded terms as "bandit" and "wrecker." But over the whole Western world—and nowhere more conspicuously than in those intellectual classes who were once most completely luxurious in their attempt to think dispassionately—this new austerity which denies one the right to speak dispassionately is spreading faster than austerity of a more material kind. The very journals which call themselves "liberal journals"—indeed, and not to beat around the bush, even *The Nation* itself—seem more self-denying than is absolutely necessary. When some organization on their side collects a fund for legal action or propaganda, this fund is called "a war chest," but if the purpose for which the fund is collected happens to be one of which they do not approve, then they speak of a "slush fund," though the very users of the terms are probably aware that there is no essential difference between the things designated by words so different.

In a brief paragraph *The Nation* assumes that an obvious outrage has been committed when a movie company decides not to use a story which it has bought from one of "the unfriendly ten," but it devotes many columns to debating the question whether or not Gieseking ought to be accepted as a pianist—despite the obvious fact that if there is any difference at all between the two cases it is in favor of the merely performing artist whose social or political attitudes cannot possibly have any direct effect upon his interpretation of Mozart. One may, of course, maintain if one likes that communism in an artist or a teacher is a more amiable weakness than anti-Semitism; but if so one has no right to conceal this opinion by pretending to accept the absolute right of free expression in one case and denying it in the other.

More amusing are the subtler cases. One *Nation* article on criminology takes the extreme position that human conduct is necessarily the result of "conditioning," but there is an uproar when someone suggests in quite a different connection that leftism may sometimes be explained by the psychic state of the leftist. This, of course, really implies the Communist position, which is that all other social philosophies are merely "ideologies" while the Marxist by some miracle has achieved Truth.

And what feats of camel-swallowing and gnat-straining *The Nation* can perform! In the United States freedom of expression and civil liberties are the very essence of good government, but in certain other countries they have often been treated as mere luxuries to be postponed until happier times. One of its correspondents, after describing the situation in a European country in terms which show very clearly that it is a police state of the most absolute sort, can then add airily that after two weeks his heart is not broken. Just how important, I wonder, were those trains which ran on time in Mussolini's Italy? Are we committing "the treason of the clerks" on the grandest possible scale?

In a letter to Georg Brandes, Henrick Ibsen once remarked that the real importance of freedom lay in the struggle for it. Sometimes, he went on to say, it seemed to him that Voltaire under the Bourbons knew more about liberty than the Danes of his own day, who were supposed to enjoy the benefits of a democratic government. And at least there is this much to be said in favor of his contention. The freedom which we deny ourselves is denied more absolutely than any which others deny us, and the most dangerous of censorships is that which we ourselves impose. The state which forbids me to speak candidly can sometimes be eluded, but if I myself no longer believe in candor, then I am enslaved indeed.

[*Next week: Mark Van Doren on The Happy Critic.*]

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The American Negro

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. Franklin Frazier. The Macmillan Company. $8.

THE efflorescence of studies in race relations during the past decade reflects the growing recognition that the problem that besets minority groups epitomizes the tensions between formal adherence to democracy and the underlying social conditions which breed prejudice and discrimination. It is not surprising that the best work has been concerned with the role of the Negro in American life, since this is the most glaring example of discrimination. Professor Frazier of Howard University has been an important contributor to such work, "The Negro Family in Chicago" and "The Negro Family in the United States" having earned well-merited recognition. "The Negro in the United States" is indicative of the widening of his horizon, which now encompasses nothing less than the total experience of the Negro in America.

Studies of the Negro have fallen into two main groups—those which are analytical, focusing upon the socio-psychological consequences of the Negro's problematic position in the American social structure, and those which hew to a straight historical line. Myrdal's and his associates' "American Dilemma" was a combination of the two types, and it is well to note that it could have been written only as a cooperative effort. Professor Frazier's new book is a prodigious one-man effort, and its defects must be viewed in the light of the herculean labor which it demanded.

Professor Frazier has packed within 700-odd pages an overwhelming wealth of data, so varied and comprehensive that in the future this work will be turned to as an important sourcebook. However, in so far as his purpose was to make an original theoretical contribution to the sociology of race relations, he has fallen short of his goal. Perhaps the major reason for his failure lies in the inadequate theoretical framework of his study. The concepts he employs, such as accommodation, assimilation, and acculturation, are worn thin with usage. They hardly help to illuminate the vast amount of his material. The result is that for long stretches the work sinks to the level of a compendium, facts naked of general meaning. The time has come for the development of more sharply cutting conceptual tools which will bring into clear perspective the processes of such modes of adaptation as acculturation and accommodation. The elements for such an analysis lie within the field of social psychology and have been used with striking success, on a small scale, by John Dollard in "Caste and Class in a Southern Town." At many points Professor Frazier displays an excellent intuitive use of such modes of analysis, but his failure to make the concepts methodologically explicit blurs much of the material he discusses.

When dealing with social structure Professor Frazier presents a cohesive institutional picture of the role of the Negro in the old South, but the nearer

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he approaches contemporary affairs the more diffuse becomes his account. Even in dealing with the old South he fails to grapple with the specific theoretical problems which a historical sociology demands. This lack of theoretical awareness leads him to define too many problems in terms of economic determinism, an approach which I believe he would reject explicitly. It is not surprising that he runs into the most trouble in his use of class categories, a stumbling-block for sociology in general. Rather uncritically he takes over Davis's and Gardner's concept of class, developed in their study "Deep South." The split between the social and economic aspects of class determination becomes unmanageable for the wide range of phenomena with which Professor Frazier deals. In describing the class structure of the Negro he unwittingly applies different criteria for different strata of the structure, with confusing effects. In attributing overwhelming importance to the effects of urbanization in changing the Negro's outlook, Professor Frazier implies that this was a uniform process rather than a varying one. The fact that urbanization at the turn of the century did not have the same objective results as that which took place during the past war is overlooked. We get too strong an impression of homogeneity in outlook among Negroes. There is such homogeneity on the most general level in that Negroes all suffer from deprivations, but it is not found in attitudes which grow out of intra-group relations. When Professor Frazier does pay attention to differences in attitudes he is acute, especially when he deals with the changes in Negro leadership patterns since the Civil War. He very neatly relates such changes to the stages of development of the Negro community and the existence of different kinds of communities at the same time.

Professor Frazier never resorts to the verbiage of moral uplift. His criticism of the injustices which the Negro has had to endure flows directly from the factual material at hand. Since this material is presented with the full integrity of responsible scholarship, the indictment of the dark stains on American culture stands out all the more sharply. Perhaps he underestimates the barriers which must be leveled before full integration of the Negro into American society is achieved. He points out the great progress toward such integration which has taken place since the Civil War but seems to overlook the fact that with such progress comes a corresponding precariousness, as twentieth-century experience has unfortunately proved. We cannot rely upon the idea that social development is unilinear but must rather make every effort to establish, through intellectual endeavor, the basic conditions for the solution of social conflict. Out of such work can be forged the weapons to be used in social action.

J. F. WOLPERT

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Freedom Through Politics

THE POWER OF FREEDOM. By Max Ascoli. Farrar, Straus and Company. $2.75.

POLITICAL science, as taught in most colleges and universities and as it is described in dry-as-dust textbooks, has been of a nature to induce permanent political paralysis. But there are hopeful stirrings in political science. All the social sciences can be interesting when humanized, when human institutions are presented not as immutable mechanisms but as evolving manifestations of human dynamics. To present them so, the political scientist must be a political philosopher as well, a thinker. "Thinking," says Max Ascoli, "is a type of work and, if well done, makes us free." "The name of good thinking is truth, the peculiar kind of power produced by good intellectual work. Truth is never achieved in toto or possessed unconditionally, because truth is the hard-won, liberating proportion of our mind with certain specific facts."

This is a thinker's book—by a thinker and for thinkers. In literary style it is something special, Max Ascoli's own—epigrammatic, picturesque, masterful. One is tempted on every page to lift some sentence to tuck away in one's card-file of colorful quotations. But one reading is not enough for full comprehension of "The Power of Freedom," only enough to light a flame of interest. Thinkers will want that flame refueled by rereading. This book should be required reference for every class in political science and a handbook for every concerned citizen.

For all its philosophy, "The Power of Freedom" deals with the living present. Few scholars know and understand the past as Ascoli does. But his interest in it is not that of a museum director. Nor does he prefer or idealize the present as the evolutionary culmination of historical processes. The present is important to him because he feels responsible for it. To be responsible for the present is to see it for what it is, good and bad, free and unfree, a new frontier, with resources different from those of earlier frontiers, to which—pioneers as we are in every generation—we must accommodate ourselves and out of which we must, like our antecedents, create our own freedoms and our own rights.

Though a political philosopher, Max Ascoli is not only contemporary but exceedingly practical and down-to-earth. In discussing freedom and rights and politics he is no natural-rights philosopher. Freedom and rights are not absolutes. They are relative conditions that men must create for themselves. Extreme and doctrinaire civil libertarians will be shocked by this cold-blooded realism, but they will be well advised to give it thought.

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Take freedom, for example. Freedom, to Ascoli, is not some undefinable happy state to which all men are created by either God or nature and which only social devils keep them from enjoying. It is "a mode of labor that allows the worker to recover the energy he has spent—to recover it with a personal profit. It is income from work well done." The profit is not pecuniary, but "our possibility of returning from our work to ourselves. Freedom is the name for a particular mode of producing and using the power that man releases." Freedom certainly is not anarchy or the substitution of automatism for politics, which is "the great heresy" of our age promoted by "economic liberalism, Marxism, and fascism" (strange bedfellows). Freedom is something man creates for himself through politics.

And rights. "A list of rights or bill of rights is not a pattern of timeless perfection valid for every place and every people. Rather, it is like an index of national income, subject to constant change through fluctuation of rates of production and consumption." Industrialization has given man his greatest opportunity to earn new rights, but this again is possible only through the practice of politics, and in that practice the labor union may be an effective instrument only if it looks beyond its members' immediate interests to those of all. Ascoli recognizes only one right as absolute and universal, namely, the right to earn rights. When this right is denied anyone, so that by segregation or discrimination he is denied "the basic skills that make men," an absolute evil is committed which all men must fight.

"The generating and the final enjoyment of the energy that is freedom belong to the individual; the channeling, the control, the transmission of this energy belong to politics." To Ascoli politics is one of the highest forms of human behavior, and political freedom something very precious. Politics, however organized, "is always representative and fiduciary," the few always acting for the many and the many adhering to well-established rules to give meaning to their actions. The right to universal suffrage does not rest on any absolute equality of political skills but upon the recognition that all work as the source of freedom is of equal value.

I confess I do not quite understand Max Ascoli's concept of the state and its relation to the individual. He condemns as dangerous heresy, leading to totalitarianism, the doctrine that the people are the state. But if that is not so, then the state would seem to have a separate historical existence, a theory used by Alfredo Rocco and Rosenberg to justify the subservience of the individual in totalitarianism. Ascoli has a completely democratic alternative but does not define it clearly or give it a name. In that alternative concept of the state the individual has a central position; he is free to organize political parties and to choose between them. The degree of his freedom and its power are results of his own work.

Politics is the activity by which men establish peace at various levels of their lives—not absolute, but limited and relative peace. Now that politics has, owing to economic integration and industrialization, attained the level of "one world," it must not be expected that the United Nations can abolish war. The best it can possibly do is to keep wars within such limits of number and destructiveness that men will not lose faith in their political institutions and their leadership but will continue to rely upon them still rather than turn to political quacks. The death of the U. N. would be guaranteed if it were converted into a world government, for which there is no basis in so highly diversified a world. What it is time to do and what the United Nations can do is to promote the synchronization of the "basic elements common to every system of rights," the most fundamental of which is "the condition of the individual. . . ."

As for Soviet communism, Ascoli holds that the free peoples of the world "deserve it" and even "need it." They deserve it because they have been untrue to their freedom, putting their faith in the golden calf of determinism as process and impossibilities as ends. They have not used their freedom dynamically or responsibly, either for themselves or for other peoples. Perhaps, he thinks, we even need communism in the world today to prove our errors to ourselves and prod us to the use of the power of freedom. This is not a gloomy thought, for like Max Ascoli himself we have the right to believe in that power. BRYN J. HOVDE

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Mountain and Mouse

WAGNER. By W. J. Turner. A. A. Wyn. $1.50.

BEETHOVEN. By Alan Pryce-Jones. A. A. Wyn. $1.50.

MUSICAL biography, one gathers from these two new additions to the A. A. Wyn series, is finally catching up to the spirit of the "higher" Biblical criticism. The culprit is now assumed guilty unless proved innocent. In Alan Pryce-Jones's prosecution of Beethoven the game is about as interesting as the old defensive operations and about as relevant. Beethoven, to be frank, takes a terrific beating, both in the chapters devoted intensively to finding him a repulsive human misfit and the final chapter devoted to perpetuating the latest collection of fashionable superstitions about his music.

The "Wagner" of W. J. Turner is a little better and a blessing in its briefness. Mr. Turner is one of our best biographers, although as a critic he is given to rather high-flown and perplexing speculations. This book answers a real need. He has reduced a mountain of slag to a mouse of matter—but a real mouse. It squeaks. R. W. FLINT

CONTRIBUTORS

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Films

MANNY FARBER

HOLLYWOOD'S fair-haired boy, to the critics, is Director John Huston; in terms of falling into the Hollywood mold, Huston is a smooth blend of iconoclast and sheep. If you look closely at his films,* what appears to be a familiar story, face, grouping of actors, or tempo has in each case an obscure, outrageous, double-crossing unfamiliarity that is the product of an Einstein-lubricated brain. Huston has a personal reputation as a bad-boy, a homely one (called "Double-Ugly" by friends, "monster" by enemies), who has been in every known trade, rugged or sedentary: Mexican army cavalryman, editor of the first pictorial weekly, expatriate painter, hobo, hunter, Greenwich Village actor, amateur lightweight champ of California. His films, which should be rich with this extraordinary experience are rich with cut-and-dried homilies; expecting a mobile and desperate style, you find stasis manipulated with the sure-handedness of a Raffles.

Though Huston deals with the gangster, detective, adventure thriller that the average fan knows like the palm of his hand, he is Message-Mad, and mixes a savage story with puddin'head righteousness. His characters are humorless and troubled and quite reasonably so, since Huston, like a Puritan judge, is forever calling on them to prove that they can soak up punishment, carry through harrowing tasks, withstand the ugliest taunts. Huston is a crazy man with death: he pockmarks a story with gratuitous deaths, fast deaths, and noisy ones, and in idle moments has his characters play parlor games with gats. Though his movies are persistently concerned with grim interpersonal relationships viewed from an ethic-happy plane, half of each audience takes them for comedies. The directing underlines a single vice or virtue of each character so that his one-track actions become either boring or funny; it expands and slows figures until they are like oxen driven with a big moralistic whip.

Money—its possession, influence, manufacture, lack—is a star performer in Huston's moral fables and gilds his technique; his irony toward and preoccupation with money indicate a director who is a little bitter at being so rich—the two brief appearances Huston makes in his own films are quite appropriately as a bank teller and a rich, absent-minded American handing out gold pieces to a recurring panhandler. His movies will please a Russian audience: half the characters (Americans) are money-mad, directly enriching themselves by counterfeiting, prospecting, blackmail, panhandling.

His style is so tony it should embarrass his threadbare subjects. The texture of a Panama hat is emphasized to the point where you feel Huston is trying to stamp its price tag on your retina. He creates a splendiferous effect out of the tiniest details—each hair of an eyelid—and the tunnel dug in a week by six proletarian heroes is the size of the Holland Tunnel.

Huston's technique differs on many counts from classic Hollywood practice, which from Sennett to Wellman has visualized stories by means of the unbroken action sequence, in which the primary image is the fluid landscape shot where terrain and individual are blended together and the whole effect is scenic rather than portraiture. Huston's art is stage presentation, based on oral expression and static composition: the scenery is curiously deadened, and the individual has an exaggerated vitality. His characters do everything the hard way—the mastication of a gum-chewing gangster resembles the leg-motion in bicycling. In the traditional film life is viewed from a comfortable vantage-point, one that is so unobtrusive that the audience is seldom conscious of the fact that a camera had anything to do with what is shown. In Huston's you are constantly aware of a vitaminized photographer. Huston breaks a film up into a hundred disparate midget films: a character with a pin head in one incident is megacephalic in another; the first shot of a brawl shows a modest Tampico saloon, the second expands the saloon into a skating rink.

The Huston trademark consists of two unorthodox practices—the statically designed image (objects and figures locked into various pyramid designs) and the mobile handling of close three-figured shots. The Eisenstein of the Bogart

* "The Maltese Falcon" (1933), "In This Our Life," "Across the Pacific," "San Pietro," "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre," "Key Largo," "We Were Strangers."

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thriller, he rigidly delimits the subject matter that goes into a frame, by chiaroscuro or by grouping his figures within the square of the screen so that there is nothing else to look at. He is a terror with a camera where there is hardly room for an actor to move an arm: given a small group in close quarters, around a bar, bonfire, table, he will hang on to the event for dear life and show you peculiarities of posture, expression, and anatomy that only the actor's doctor should know. The arty, competent Huston would probably seem to an old rough-and-ready silent film director like a boy who graduated from Oxford at the age of eight, and painted the Sistine Chapel during his lunch hours.

Aside from its spectacular evidences of his ability to condense events and characterization, the one persistent virtue of Huston's newest and worst movie, "We Were Strangers," is Jennifer Jones, who wears a constant frown as though she had just swallowed John Garfield. Garfield acts as though he'd just been swallowed.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

AT NEW YORK'S City Center I heard a performance of "The Marriage of Figaro" again that was well sung and went off smoothly and effectively on the stage, but that had me in acute discomfort at times when the singing, under Rosenstock's direction, was not precisely in gear with the playing of the orchestra. But singers and orchestra were even farther apart at times in the otherwise delightful performance of Mozart's "The Abduction from the Seraglio" put on by the Music School of Henry Street Settlement under the direction of Robert Scholz, in which a soprano named Genevieve Warner impressed one with the beauty of her voice, the ease and security with which it produced the most difficult passages of Constanza's arias, and the musical taste of her phrasing.

Even with the large number of new and hastily rehearsed dancers Ballet Theater managed to provide some exciting experiences at the Metropolitan Opera House recently. Outstanding were, on opening night, Balanchine's "Theme and Variations" with Tallchief and Youskevitch, and on later evenings Loring's "Billy the Kid" with Kriza and Janet Reed, Balanchine's revision of "Princess Aurora" with Gollner or Kaye and Kriza, and with Tallchief and Youskevitch in the Bluebird episode (but one performance with substitutes was shockingly bad), De Mille's "Tally-Ho" with Reed, Bentley, Laing, and Kriza. Also good were "Giselle," with Gollner (quieter and better than in her hammed-up performance of "Swan Lake" on opening night) or with Kaye, and with Youskevitch's superb performance, but with the wonderful Berman scenery robbed of some of its effect by bad lighting, "Swan Lake" with Kaye and Youskevitch, Robbins's "Fancy Free" with Kriza, Bentley, and Reed, Tudor's "Romeo and Juliet" with Kaye and Laing, Fokine's "Petrouchka," with Laing's performance in the title role the best since Lazovsky's, and Orloff's the poorest since Massine's, and with Reed excellent as the Dancer. The "Black Swan" pas de deux was danced by Tallchief with all the quiet elegance she has acquired in recent years, and by Kaye with less than the dazzling speed and brilliance she exhibited formerly; Gollner's best performance was the one in the "Don Quixote" pas de deux; and in these pieces Youskevitch executed his breathtaking leaps and turns with his usual suavity and elegance.

On the other hand there was a completely unpoetic "Les Sylphides" with Gollner, Adams, and Vance. And there was a revival of "La Fille mal gardée," with what is accepted as humor only in a ballet, but excellently performed the time I saw it by Reed and Kriza, with Harold Lang providing the dazzling leaps and turns of the butterfly-chasing idiot.

The single performance of Balanchine's "Apollo" was rehearsed enough for Tallchief, Kaye, and Adams to dance their parts beautifully, but not enough to keep Youskevitch from forgetting an important detail in the pas d'action. The fact is that he is in every way unsuited to the part—that he cannot learn it and doesn't even look and move like a young god disporting himself with the muses but is always a mature Ballet Russe danseur noble. Nevertheless, with the music rightly paced this time by Goberman, it was a performance which gave a large measure of effect to this most poetically and touchingly imaginative of Balanchine's works.

From English Decca there is a new set of the Mussorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition," well-performed, except for occasional over-deliberateness of pace, by Ansermet with the London Philharmonic, and reproduced with Decca spaciousness and clarity, but sometimes without the proper radiance in the violins (EDA-90, $11.50).

And from Columbia a new set of Prokofiev's stunning "Scythian Suite," played by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (MM-827, $4.15). I think the tempo of the wonderful closing section is too fast; but otherwise the performance is good. Its recorded sound is more spacious and refined than that of the Chicago Symphony performance in the RCA Victor set; but soft passages recede into the distance and lack the distinctness of the Chicago version.

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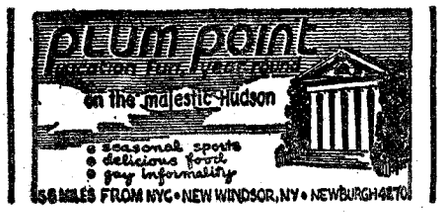
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Letters to the Editors

Ever Read a Book?

Dear Sirs: I have never before written a letter to the editor of any journal, but there is always a first time, and Clifford J. Durr's article [How to Measure Loyalty, in *The Nation*, April 23] on the case of Roy Patterson is an appropriate occasion.

I first met Roy Patterson in Washington after the war. During my brief stay in that fear-ridden city, I got to know him well, and we became good friends. Pat was well known in the capital for his sincere devotion to the welfare of government employees, his efforts to obtain pay raises and better working conditions for them, and his attempts to eliminate racial discrimination, assist the returning veteran, and so forth. We disagreed on some issues but agreed on many more; in any event, at all times it was abundantly clear that he followed no "line" other than the dictates of his own conscience.

The moral of the Patterson case is clear: the loyalty program has degenerated into a witch hunt, the witch hunt is working overtime, and the witch hunters have gone berserk. If they can pin the "disloyalty" tag on Roy Patterson without explanation, in star chamber proceedings, they can do it to any of us. Did you ever sign a petition? Read a book? Join an organization? Associate with untouchables?

Which brings me to my own immediate problem: Should I sign this letter? Should I publicly admit "association" with Roy Patterson, Silver Star and Purple Heart veteran, whom I know and admire as a clean-cut and devoted American? Should I admit that we went on picnics together; that I took pictures of his youngster? Dare I publicly criticize the loyalty procedure? And equally important, dare I publicly admit that I read *The Nation?* You see, I too am a government employee. A READER

Washington, April 23

More Color-blind Camps

Dear Sirs: In an article in your issue of April 30 entitled Color-blind Summer Camps, Kenneth B. Webb mentioned some of the few camp groups which are interracial. However, he omitted Y. W. C. A. camps, which pioneered in promoting cross-section representation of all parts of the community. Here in Buffalo, Forty Acres, the Y. W. C. A.

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MRS. WALTER H. SHERRY,
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Buffalo, May 4

Help for Blind Poets

Dear Sirs: A few volunteers among the blind have banded together to try to provide opportunities for their fellows to find happiness in the abundance of leisure. More than three hundred Braille letter writers have already become interested in the Braille Poets' Guild. This project is financed through the contributions of friends.

At present the guild publishes *Inspiration*, a magazine in Braille featuring poetry by the blind and reprints from contemporary ink print; transcribes ink material into Braille for individual needs; provides a general information service for the blind and for the sighted who wish to help them; and maintains tutorial home studies in authorship for the blind. There is great need of more services, but our limited finances even prevent expansion of our going services.

Perhaps some of your readers might wish to help us expand by bolstering our finances. If so, they should write to me at P. O. Box 245, Taunton.

MERRILL MAYNARD,
Braille Poets' Guild

Taunton, Mass., May 24

[Frank W. Lewis's crossword puzzle has been omitted from this issue for reasons of space. It will appear again as usual next week.—EDITORS THE NATION]

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